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The 3-Ring Media

by Paul Gottfried

We had to suffer three media circuses in August, televised events which allowed the priesthood of the therapeutic state to reshape the observed world: the Centennial Olympics and the Republican and Democratic conventions. All three would have been unrelievedly boring, full of staged hype and canned oratory, were it not for the revealing comments uttered and pressures exerted by the TV talking heads.

Two obvious cases in point were Bernard Shaw gushing over Hillary Clinton's "We Need a Village" speech delivered at the Democratic Convention on August 27. Unable to contain himself, the supposedly sober black anchorman reminded us, with an awe-stricken expression, that Hillary is a "great person in her own right."

Among other high points of media commentary were Bill Schneider's description of Jack Kemp, who had just been selected by Dole as his running mate, as "a nice conservative, the anti-Buchanan candidate," and the media's references throughout the Olympics to Atlanta "as Martin Luther King's city."

At the Republican convention the TV commentators spent much of their time hunting down pro-choice delegates and politicians and asking them whether they felt "excluded by the Republican Right." No such investigative effort was made to learn about the feelings of Democrats at the Democratic convention who felt squeamish about ninth-month abortions, a practice recently protected by Bill Clinton.

More significant than the proofs of media bias was the attempt by Republicans to compensate for it. Though Haley Barbour may have planned such a spectacle months in advance, one suspects that the showcasing of blacks, feminists, and the physically challenged at the Republican convention had something to do with the portrayal of the Olympics in the preceding two weeks. There we got to see the world of competitive sports as a "dream" taking place in the cradle of the civil rights movement. This dream was inhabited largely by blacks, and the media offered biographical closeups of American stars, a point misunderstood by Charles Krauthammer who attributed this focus to exaggerated American nationalism and not to what it was, preoccupation with glorifying African-Americans.

The Southern theme was carefully and relentlessly kept out of events and commentary. One Chinese-American gymnast had her request turned down as insensitive, when she asked that "Dixie" be played for her performance. No Confederate or even Georgia flags were in sight anywhere during the Olympic games, and the only reminder of the Old South that the media encouraged was the hasty attempt to blame reactionary Southern elements for the bombing at the Centennial Park. Media coverage of that event and its aftermath combined horrified outcries against a rightwing conspiracy with demands

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P.C. Watch

That's *Mr.* Sambo to You

Claims that Harrods, the British department store, was selling "under the counter" *The Story of Little Black Sambo*, "the 97-year-old children's book considered by some to be racist," has "provoked a row," said the London *Daily Telegraph* (9/4/96). Says the Anti-Racist Alliance, which sent investigators to confirm the crime, "We are surprised that Harrods should have anything to do with such a throwback to the colonial period which has already been banned in many bookshops."

We're Waiting for a White Miss Harlem

"Racists boo black winner of Miss Italy" ran the London *Times* headline (9/9/96). After tremen-

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dous p.c. pressure, judges picked a black immigrant from the Dominican Republic over girls from Italy. Proponents of a "brunette from Naples" were especially incensed. The selection took place only after one member of the jury was expelled. The ex-juror, a fashion photographer, had said that "a black girl cannot possibly become Miss Italy." Italian girls are either white or "Mediterranean types."

Racism at the Mall

Minnesota's Mall of America, the country's biggest, is being charged with racism for barring kids under 16 from its property on Friday and Saturday nights, unless accompanied by a parent or someone else 21 or older.

The Mall of America, like all malls, is a popular hangout for teenagers, especially black ones, notes the *New York Times* (9/4/96). Until the curfew, "3,000 teenagers swarmed the mall, disturbing other shoppers with chases, practical jokes, and fistfights," according to a mall spokesman, who denies the policy is racist, since it applies to whites as well. But Yusef Mgeni, president of the Minneapolis Urban Coalition, charges the policy was drawn up because of the "large number of young people of color who congregate in the mall in the evening."

The *Times* notes that the kids, many wearing "gang-related apparel," "can be obnoxious. They race down the halls in groups, scattering shoppers in their paths. They use foul language when shouting to their friends two floors above. Some even drop food or spit over the railings, aiming at the shoppers below."

"Son, grow tall like a stalk of blue cornflower/Stalin will be the first word on your lips."

Ever Wonder Why Prokofiev Is Beloved?

Prokofiev has never been one of my favorite composers, even among the rotten moderns, but I should have realized there's a reason we're told he was great: he was a toady of Stalin's.

In two reviews (7/24-25/96), *Los Angeles Times* music critic Mark Swed extols Prokofiev as played by the Kirov Opera in Manhattan's Lincoln Center. (The Kirov is named after another communist mass murderer, thank goodness assassinated by his leader). Prokofiev's "grandiloquent 'Cantata for the 20th Anniversary of the October Revolution' (with texts by Marx, Lenin, and Stalin)" was "thrilling," and the "rousing performance" helped the audience "put art before politics," claims Swed. These texts, unquoted, are described as "innocuous."

Swed has a tough time with the "Zdravitsa," a toast to Stalin on his 60th birthday in 1939. A woman admonishes her newborn baby, "Son, grow tall like a stalk of blue cornflower/Stalin will be the first word on your lips."

But even Homer nods, and at least the cantata was written in 1937, "before Stalin's worst offenses." Stalin's murder of 7 million Ukrainians in the early 1930s, among other acts, apparently doesn't count. Besides, Prokofiev isn't driven by "evil sentiments," unlike "Wagner" or "Richard Strauss"! (Thanks to Tom Verkuilen for the clippings.)

South African Crime

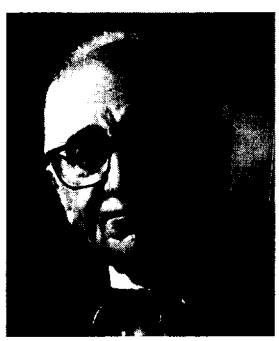
"Crime in South Africa is absolutely rampant," notes Richard Russell in the *Dow Theory Letter* (8/28/96). "Crime is so bad, in fact, that Islamic vigilantes have finally taken the law into their own hands and are staging battles with South African gangs. Last year, there were 18,983 homicides in South Africa, nearly ten times per capita that of the U.S. Ironically, the largest black gang calls itself 'the Americans.'"

Is Kemp Gay?

No! says *New York Post* columnist Neal Travis (8/20/96). It's all a lie started by Roy Cohn, who was a homosexual himself. It's true that gay groups are trying to "out" Kemp, that gays claim they saw him in Buffalo's gay bars when he was a Congressman, and that Kemp was involved in a gay scandal in Reagan's gubernatorial administration in California, but you can't trust Roy, says Travis.

Never Shake Hands With a Nigerian

African "mobs have hanged three men accused of using evil powers to cause male genitals to disappear," reports the London *Daily Telegraph* (8/22/96). Several other "penis snatchers—who allegedly use only a simple handshake—are in hospital after being badly beaten, according to the Cameroon Post newspaper. It is said that most of the alleged 'penis snatchers' were Nigerian." It



Dean of the Austrian School of economics, founder of modern libertarianism, and restorer of the Old Right, Murray N. Rothbard (1926-1995) was a one-man army of liberty. The *RRR* is inspired by his spirit, and dedicated to his vision.

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was also reported that "an 18-year-old student said that, when he shook hands with a Nigerian friend, 'he felt an electric-like current run through him, and a feeling that his manhood had retreated into his stomach.'"

Ron Paul Victory

Thanks to Lew Rockwell's article in the *RRR*, Ron Paul's Libertarian opponent has dropped out of the Congressional race. In a close election, this could make all the difference. The man had received so many protest calls as a result of our article that he decided to poll Libertarians in the district, and more than 80% agreed: he should not split the pro-freedom vote with Dr. Paul.

San Francisco Justice

Last year in San Francisco, a white bicyclist named Patrick Hourican either hit the car of a black driver named Louis Waldron, or Waldron's car hit the bike, and the car's mirror was knocked off. What is not in dispute is that Waldron then punched Hourican to death. For this, Waldron has now been sentenced to nine months in jail, reports the *San Francisco Chronicle* (7/19/96). After getting out, Waldron plans to return to "the College of Marin, where he is studying criminology."

Just Plain Justice

"The 9th Circuit Court of Appeals recently ruled that a large cross (100 ft. high) on Twin Peaks (overlooking San Francisco) has to be taken down (or given to some organization) even though it was built in 1933," writes subscriber J.H. Bolstad. "We allow a Buddha in the Japanese tea garden in Golden Gate Park, and a Menorah in Union Square on Hanukkah, so why not the cross? But the question answers itself."■

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for a larger supply of grief therapists.

At the Republican Convention one had the chance to relive the Olympic experience a second time, as a kind of yuppie farce. Here there were even more references to Martin Luther King and the glories of the civil rights movement. The nomination of Kemp as the vice-presidential candidate illustrated not so much the reaching out to minorities as a Republican cave-in to media bullying.

For years, the media had depicted Republicans as insensitive to minorities. Despite the fact that Republican administrations had pushed quotas at least as hard as the Democrats, they were not given credit for reaching out to blacks and Hispanics. With Kemp all of that has changed. Kemp has devoted his life to chastising Republicans for not doing enough for minorities. He also has close ties to the Israeli Right, and even leftwing Jewish publications, such as the *Washington Jewish Week*, praise him repeatedly for his "friendliness to Jews."

At the Republican Convention we were treated to a secular adaptation of a Southern faith-healing assembly.

It should be no secret that Jews as well as liberals are disproportionately represented in the media, and that Jewish liberals like A.M. Rosenthal, Bill Schneider, and Richard Cohen have long been agog over Kemp. Whether these enthusiasms will translate into Jewish liberal support for a ticket with Kemp on it remains to be seen. Yet, it is reasonable to assume that Dole's decision to pick as his running mate this former adversary was prompted by a desire for "good press."

So too were the liberal vibes that the Republican Convention tried desperately to send. Southern delegates, led by Governor Allen of Virginia, fell over themselves in identifying their region with civil rights notables, to the exclusion of any Confederate personage.

Women and blacks were featured prominently on the podium as well as in the audience, and such p.c. speakers as Colin Powell and Congresswoman Susan Molinari took stands in favor of what the media kept calling "moderate Republicanism." Not surprisingly, the black athlete J.C. Watt made a speech in which he referred to the quarterbacking prowess that he and "Jack" shared.

At both conventions, delegates in their nominating speeches kept revisiting the recently completed Olympics, mentioning any possible association of their states with this chronological pivot. All three late summer events, moreover, provided compassionate displays of the lame and the handicapped.

In the Olympics there were discussions of the "dreams of the handicapped," which would be realized with more government spending. At the Republican Convention we were treated to a secular adaptation of a Southern faith-healing assembly, as Mrs. Dole consoled badly disabled people who had been wheeled on to the podium. After touching each one, Libby Dole offered the message: "Bob cares about you!"

Two weeks later the Democrats, not to be outdone, featured the paraplegic actor Christopher Reeves, as a key speaker. They also brought to the podium on the same night the Brady bunch, who pled for more gun-control laws, presumably to be passed by a Democratic Congress.

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While Republican newspapers have complained about the use of a brain-damaged former Reagan press secretary by the opposing party, it is hard to see why this act is any more tasteless than most of what occurred at the Republican Convention. The Democrats were only trying to raise the Republican ante, by holding a convention that would dazzle the media by its consistent p.c. And though the media gave the Democrats more flattering coverage, that was not because they were being more tastelessly liberal: the Republicans won that game hands down.

A point may be in order about one obvious difference between the Olympics and the two party conventions. Unlike the first, which as widely viewed, the last two did not attract an audience of more than 10 to 12 percent of the viewing public. Most of the bombast that was heard, from scheduled speakers and from TV liberal-neocon commentators, received single-digit hearings.

What made the conventions important is the power exercised by the media. All the speakers were playing to them, and their subsequent reporting about what went on in San Diego and Chicago has been selectively filtered by the communications industry.

Most Americans, including my two geriatric aunts, both once Wallace Democrats, are convinced that Dole is a right-winger in alliance with the (dangerously) Religious Right, whereas Clinton is a "moderate" concerned about fairness.

Never mind that neither has any firm identity and that both received nominations from conventions that looked like gatherings of sun-tanned social workers. The point is one of perception, and here the media are free to put their own spin on recent history.

It is understandable that what Sam Francis calls the "stupid party" would play up shamelessly but unavailingly to these nutty reinterpretors of reality. What they failed to see but is now apparent, as Bill Clinton's popularity is rising again, is the silliness of their games. Better to lose while standing for constitutional and moral principles than win while aping one's opponents.

Dole and Clinton received nominations from conventions that looked like gatherings of sun-tanned social workers.

How Pat Betrayed His Brigades

by Llewellyn H. Rockwell, Jr.

What began as a glorious and revolutionary political insurgency ended in confusion and sadness. After months of buildup, Pat Buchanan prepared to speak to his supporters the night before the Republican convention. These people had undergone financial sacrifices for more than a year — not least to travel to Southern California at his urging. In every sense, they had slogged a long way to be their that night.

The slings and arrows from the Dole camp and the party elites had not discouraged them. They were used to it, and it had taught them that their enemies were not only the liberals in the Democratic Party, but also the fakers in the Republican Party. Dole, "Beltway Bob, bellhop to the Business Round Table," was the prime example. Pat had told them so for months in speeches and fund-raising appeals. This point was confirmed when Pat was denied a speaking slot at the convention, as was everyone to the right of Dole. So the Buchanan Brigades were fired up and prepared to do whatever was necessary. They wanted only marching orders.

Before Pat spoke, he had Oliver North go on stage as a warmup. Ollie surprised the audience by telling them what he thought was obvious: it's time to get behind the Dole-Kemp ticket. This announcement was met with shock, then boos and stamping of feet. Ollie nearly lost his composure. As he stumbled off the podium, Pat was rethinking the text of his speech. Fearing that he too might be hooted down, he chose to release his "100%" endorsement of Dole-Kemp the next day, in a printed version. Sorry, no questions from supporters.

Dole predictably brushed off the endorsement. The next we saw of Pat, he was wandering aimlessly around the stage the last night of the convention, along with the other primary challengers. There Dole even brushed off his handshake. Then the recriminations within the Buchanan camp began. Big donors claimed they had been had. Hard-core activists were spitting mad. Pro-lifers and Christians were dumbstruck. It wasn't they who had changed their minds, but their standard bearer. Pat had been a better teacher than even he knew.

Meanwhile, the party and the ticket had been purged of any hint of true conservatism. They were de-Buchananized in every sense except for the bad part of Pat's agenda: his sympathy for middle-class welfare. The good parts of Buchananism—opposition to the New World Order, the federal leviathan, gun grabbing, and forced multiculturalism—the issues his brigades really cared about, were gone for good. In their place

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were the soft multiculturalism, the "tolerance" toward abortion and affirmative action, and the renewed approval of global militarism and trade treaties that were on display during prime time. The convention seemed to be an organized attempt to poke every Buchananite in the eye.

Pat's defenders say he had no other choice but to back Dole. To refuse to endorse the Dole-Kemp ticket, much less to have run on the Taxpayers Party ticket or urged people to support Howie Phillips, would have sealed his fate within the party. It would have meant giving up any chance of gaining the party's nomination in 2000. So he thinks. The hidden assumption is that he can't spurn the party's power elite and still get the nomination. But those people will oppose him tooth and nail, no matter what he does, as they always have.

To this day, Pat's supporters are seriously steamed. All that money, time, and emotion spent, and what is there to show for it? An endorsement of Dole, lover of high taxes and the welfare-warfare state, and of Kemp, crazed booster of affirmative action and open borders. They might as well have sent their contributions directly to Empower America or the RNC. No, they will not support Dole. Wondering if Pat led them down a blind ally, they will not support him either.

The Platform Question

In their own defense, still-faithful Buchananites cite the platform, which is a better document than in the recent past (even if it does back much more military spending and federal aid to private schools). But after the platform passed and Pat had hailed it as a victory, the bottom fell out. Both the presidential nominee and the chairman of the party took the unusual step of repudiating the document.

Dole in particular said he hasn't read the platform and is not bound by it. Then he told black journalists that he rejects its long-overdue call to deny citizenship to the children of illegal aliens who happen to be born here. What, then, is the point of this grand victory, if the leaders of the party say it is all hogwash?

As Charley Reese pointed out in an extraordinary column, "nothing in Christendom is more ignored, and therefore useless, than a political party platform." Reese continued with other choice words for Pat. "The message Buchanan has sent to his former supporters is that he would rather be a Republican than believe what he, Buchanan, said on the stump this past summer. I think that will finish Buchanan as a political figure."

And there's more. "He is endorsing two guys who ridiculed his positions on the issues and who ridiculed and insulted him and his supporters.... The guy who vowed to fight until Hell freezes over and then fight on the ice apparently looked out the window of the Republican house and decided it was too cold and lonesome out there. He'd rather stay in the house than go out and fight."

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In this view, there's more at work here than Pat's desire to get the nomination in 2000. The bottom line is that Pat is a party man. He calls the Republican Party "our family." That's difficult for most of his supporters to understand. For them, the party is only as good as the good it does, which is the only sensible position. If it does evil—like raise taxes, transform the country through immigration, impose "civil rights," back Nafta, bail out Mexico, and generally sell out America—then it should be dumped.

Sam Francis was always careful to warn his readers that Pat does not think this way, that he is "too bourgeois and too Beltway" to lead an authentic revolution. When I once told Pat that I hated Washington, D.C., he was visibly shocked. "It's my home," he protested.

Indeed it is. Pat faithfully served in the White Houses of Mr. Price Control (Nixon) and Mr. Global Democracy (Reagan); despite his radical talk and abundant enemies, Pat is a product of the Beltway in matters of strategy and tactics. What makes him different from his enemies is his loyalty to principle. The trouble is—and his supporters didn't expect this—loyalty to the Republican Party is one of his main principles.

Another Way Out

In the long run, Pat's unwillingness to leave the party was not his most serious mistake. In fact, he could have chosen to stay within the party, and not betray his supporters, so long as he made it clear that he opposed what Dole and Kemp stand for. He could have denounced the Republican nominee, spelled out his history of tax increases and current ideological errors, as he had in the campaign. Pat could have blasted Kemp as a big-government man, just as he used to in his columns. He could have noted that they are wholly owned, and will work for their powerful and despicable financial backers rather than the average American. Republicans deserve better, he could have pointed out, nominees who truly reflect the interests and concerns of the grass roots.

Such a speech could have concluded with a vow not to be pushed aside by interlopers. He would stay in the party and fight to turn it over to its rightful constituency. Does Buchanan endorse Dole? He wouldn't have had to say. Instead, he could have said: "it's not up to

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me to tell people how to vote. They will make their own decision based on how the campaign progresses."

The press would have loved it, he would have been a player again, and, most crucially, he would have educated the people with the truth about Dole and Kemp, which is being covered up. He would have been hailed as a hero by his own supporters, and even enhanced his long-run standing within the party.

But in declaring the "Truce of San Diego," he seemed to suggest that all the fighting was for naught. He said: Dole won, and now we need to get behind him. He actually expected his supporters to turn on a dime. That's the way Pat thinks party politics works. What he didn't understand is that this is a new era, in which party loyalty counts for nothing among the masses of voters, including his supporters. It's a point he made often in the primaries, but apparently didn't himself take seriously.

Pat's Ideological Impact

Jack Kemp—a washed-up has-been only a few months ago—may become the new ideological leader of the Republican Party. Plucked from obscurity and disgrace, Kemp is hailed as a prophet before his time. Even his former critics are on board with his pro-militarism, pro-underclass, pro-welfare-for-aliens agenda. He is now in place to become the nominee in 2000, a chilling thought for any opponent of the welfare-warfare state.

The right-wing of the party, and the politically alienated middle class, have no intellectual or political leader. A huge vacuum has appeared, and there's no telling who or what will emerge to fill it.

What's also not clear is the ideological impact that Pat's candidacy has had on the overall movement. Will the next true leader of the right adopt the good side or the bad side of Buchananism?

It's not unusual for political leaders to have good and bad sides. Thomas Jefferson is the classic example. The good Jefferson was the secessionist agrarian who believed in hard money, rooted living, natural elites, self-government, and eternal resistance to tyrants. The bad Jefferson was the Francophile who supported the "rights of man," anti-clericalism, and egalitarian democracy. When the bad side swamped the good side, Jeffersonians like Patrick Henry and John Randolph flew into a fury, and desperately tried to pull him back into the fold. Fortunately, after many fits and starts, and mixed terms in office, Jefferson ended up on the right side of every issue, reaffirming the core principles of Jeffersonianism.

The 1996 campaign was Pat's French Revolution. He began by calling for opposition to federal tyranny, term limits on federal judges, tax cuts, regulatory cuts, states rights, gun rights, and curbs on immigration. The bad side was always there, but it was held in check—until he won the New Hampshire primary. All Hell broke loose at that point, just as it had at a similar point in his 1992 campaign. Emboldened with new confidence in his own influence, he began an attempt to reshape his supporters' beliefs.

In my experience, a convinced protectionist is an impossible nut to crack.

As the campaign progressed, he focused more and more on the alleged evils of the private sector. He attacked companies that lay off workers, open plants overseas, put the bottom line first, import goods, or have non-unionized factories, and ignored the real evils of government. He began to explain all existing social ills as a consequence of free trade and the profit motive. It was a month-long outburst with no relation to reality. But the media loved it, and it set off a wild anti-capitalist frenzy. Pat was saying what the left believed in their hearts, but would not risk saying publicly for fear of losing all credibility.

After he lashed out at Steve Forbes with envy-soaked rhetoric, and Pat began to hear whispers that he was sounding like a socialist, he came to his own defense. He didn't attack free enterprise "as such," Pat said, but only "green-eyeshade" capitalists and the followers of "dead Austrian economists." By the time Pat was campaigning in Georgia, after having lost terribly in Arizona, this was just about all he could talk about. The bad side of Buchananism had entirely taken over. Even his San Diego speech was pro-state and anti-market.

How much damage he caused by miseducating his followers on economic issues is the great unknown. What is known is that Pat is not following the course of Jefferson and returning to his good side. He has a book contract to write about—what else?—the evils of free trade and profit making.

During Pat's most frenzied moments, I would receive panicked calls from his supporters, some of them very big donors to his campaign. Is there anything that can be done? they would ask. They wanted me to "get through to him" and explain some basic economics so he would stop embarrassing himself. (Indeed, two members of his national campaign advisory board privately repudiated him during this period.)

I always declined. First, in my experience, a convinced protectionist is an impossible nut to crack. Second, Pat is his own man, and not even Murray Rothbard could convince him to drop his wilder theories. Third, Pat doesn't believe that economics has anything to teach him, as he said many times during the campaign. I would have been wasting my time and his.

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Pat's Downfall

Ever since Dole took the lead in the primaries, Pat has been consumed with trying to understand what happened and why. He has a number of theories, ranging from too many absentee ballots to the frustrating loss of "momentum" to his black hat at an Arizona campaign stop. It's true that he was smeared by all the usual suspects, for all the usual reasons, but that had been true in 1992, and before he won New Hampshire in 1996. It was vicious, but it was also a given.

What stopped Pat was his own message. He started off as the most anti-government candidate; by the end of his campaign, his target was the private sector and those who have succeeded in it. Then his isolationism evaporated, with China bashing and Japan thrashing that astounded even militant global hawks.

How could Pat have expected to win a Republican primary by denouncing free enterprise and "corporate butchers," while praising unions and higher taxes on imports? He somehow came to believe that the campaign was not so much about the ideals he once espoused, or about principles larger than himself, but about Pat Buchanan the man, regardless of any new ideological fixations.

Right now, if he expects to have a political future, Pat needs to do what any really successful politician has had to do at some point in his career: eat humble pie. He needs to realize he made a dreadful error in adopting the rhetoric of union thugs. He needs to bone up on his economics, return to his Goldwaterite roots (minus the Cold War ideology), jettison his rhetoric about the evils of business, and renew his call for a genuine military isolationism.

Post-Pat

Will he do it? Probably not. And if not, he stands no chance of displacing rotten Kempism as the key ideological force within conservatism. Worse, Pat will have abandoned the opponents of the welfare-warfare state to his neoconservative enemies, the people who run the very party he is urging us to support.

Yet the objective conditions that have fueled the anti-government revolt still exist, and will worsen under either Dole or Clinton. If Kempianism rules the Republican Party and the conservative movement, there will be a gigantic opening on the right. Who will speak to and for believers in land rights, states rights, and gun rights; in economic liberty, civil liberty, and family liberty; in homeschooling, an immigration freeze, and America First; in the South, the West, and other historic regions?

What stopped Pat was his own message.

As the central government steps up its looting of property under Bob or Bill, and therefore loses even more legitimacy among an angry citizenry, there will be a greater opportunity for public revolt. As to who will head the revolt, in an increasingly decentralized movement it may be men of the states, regionally oriented leaders who will have had nothing to do with Washington, D.C. Certainly we cannot allow the next glorious and revolutionary political insurgency to end in anything but total victory.

Boy Gingrich

by Christina F. Jeffrey

Professor Christina F. Jeffrey of Georgia was selected by Newt Gingrich to be House Historian, and then dumped when she was falsely accused of anti-Semitism. Now she is fighting back. Ed.

There are no liberals reading the "Triple R," so I can be frank. The truth is, I didn't know Newt Gingrich was a quisling. Some of you could have told me so, but I probably wouldn't have listened. Now the signs of it are everywhere.

Like many of you, my husband Robert and I long ago became accustomed to being on the losing side of politics. But then Newt helped engineer the 1994 Republican victory, and success went to our heads. Robert offered our help and Newt said he needed a House historian. My husband was interested. I was not. Our first clue that Newt was infected with political correctness came when he tapped me for the job. But with my husband's encouragement, I accepted.

Newt had insisted that the job was made for me, that he was changing its very academic focus to outreach. I would go on television to help people understand how Congress works. It sounded like a wonderful opportunity to teach wholesale instead of retail. Robert also wanted to write, "A day in the life of the Speaker." What a day!

In his new book, *Boy Clinton*, Bob Tyrell coins the term, "chronic campaigner," and uses it to describe both Clinton and Gingrich. A chronic campaigner is someone who will do anything or support any position to remain in power.

How long has Newt been a chronic campaigner? The signs were there, but I ignored them. (Yes, I know I'm slow, and that fact has been noted by the *New York Times* in a piece which should have been entitled, "No Southerner is smart enough to be House historian.")

So Newt hired me, only to jettison me a few days later because of a threat by the *New York Times* that

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it would put a story on page one saying that he had hired a Nazi sympathizer. Thus, a libel that could have been thrown back with impunity as a sign that the new Republican Congress would not take its marching orders from its enemies, was instead the first harbinger of the spinelessness that characterizes the Republican establishment.

We had taken leaves of absences from our jobs and leased a house in Arlington, Virginia. We packed and moved and I started work on January 3rd. On January 9th, Newt told the press that I had been fired through a message left on my answering machine. That would have been typical bad manners, but in fact there was no such message.

When Newt called me three hours later, he told me I had to resign and I told him that he should not back down from the first fight of the new Congress. I told him I was innocent of the charges against me and that they had been thoroughly refuted in 1989 by the Bush Education Department as well as by the southeastern director of the Anti-Defamation League. Newt told me he had been in Washington for 16 years and knew better. I would become the object of marches in the street; my name would be used for Democratic fundraisers.

He told me that he had talked to Bill Bennett who was Secretary of Education when his department leaked my review of a controversial program to the press, and allowed me to be denounced by those who supported funding the grant in question. I'm not surprised Bennett wanted to be rid of me, since his original handling of my smear by his political appointees may have been an embarrassment to him. It certainly should have been.

So Robert and I am suing Newt, and the leading libellers, Barney Frank, Charles Schumer, Maxine Waters, and Tony Blankley.

Here's the story of the grant proposal that I criticized in my 1986 review. In the name of a "Holocaust education program," leftists sought funding to indoctrinate middle-school teachers in how to teach a course called "Facing History and Ourselves." Besides being a disgrace by all the normal standards of academic life, FHAO smeared America and the South. It taught that our actions in VietNam, and the Jim Crow-era in the South, were equivalent to the Holocaust. FHAO is located in Barney Frank's district, ergo his early and continued interest in it.

Favorable articles in national conservative publications, and a very public commendation by the national ADL, made it possible for Pat Buchanan to use my name against the Republican establishment when it attempted to smear him through Larry Pratt.

Would Newt also throw my story in the face of the defamers on the left? No. After months of cajoling, back-channeling, reasoning, and political pressure, it became clear that he would not agree to clear my name.

Newt apparently wanted to handle the matter legally. Watch the Speaker and notice how often he says that he is being forced to do something. He was forced to fire me by the leftist media. (Clinton said it was the right-wing media which "forced" him to jettison Lani Gaunier—these chronic campaigners are all alike.) He would rather have a court "make" him do the right thing than do it on his own initiative.

So Robert and I am suing Newt, and the leading libellers, Barney Frank, Charles Schumer, Maxine Waters, and Tony Blankley (Newt's press secretary), to compel them to set the public record straight, and to make good the losses my family suffered as a result of this injustice.

But our lawsuit is not just a personal quest. We also see it as a maneuver against imperial Washington, against the lethargy of the Republicans, and against the cultural elite, whose influence makes a libel against me, a Southern conservative, seem so believable.

We need the help of all real conservatives to carry on this suit. If you can, please send a contribution to: the Jeffrey Vindication Fund, P.O. Box 1777, Dawsonville, Georgia 30144.

Bad News?

by L.H.R., Jr.

From the concluding remarks at last month's Mises Institute anti-Fed conference at Jekyll Island, Georgia.

I come bearing bad news, courtesy of the *New York Times*. Columnist Anthony Lewis has warned us, with grave solemnity, that we face a monstrous social crisis: "The American public seems to hate government, most of all the federal government."

"Opposition toward government," he admits, "has always been a strain in American thinking, reflected in the Constitution's measures to check official power. But the kind of loathing so often expressed today is different.... Anger at government is the common coin of opinion polls and radio talk shows. In paranoid form it has produced the militia movement...."

Folks, it gets worse. Lewis continues: "many politicians pander to anti-government feelings. Bob Dole did, brazenly, when he told the Republican Convention that he would

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'end the IRS as we know it.'" Sadly, it does not stop there. Even President Clinton "has chosen to appease the demonizers by saying 'the era of big government is over.'"

Lewis' biggest fear is one I'm sure all of us here tonight share. As he warns, "We may have to get through this election with no real defense of government against its demonizers."

Here we have an example of what the press calls unbiased commentary: criticizing both Republicans and Democrats for not loving and defending the government nearly enough.

Wouldn't you like to see Anthony Lewis's column on our conference this weekend? Truth is, the situation is even worse than he thinks. He doesn't know the half of it.

From the establishment's point of view, there's only one thing more evil than not liking the government. It's not liking the Federal Reserve. At their convention, Democrats handed out gold-foil covered candy bars to the press, with Jack Kemp's name alongside those of the John Birch Society and Lyndon LaRouche.

The Democrats think that anyone who favors the gold standard, even in truncated form, is clearly crazy. Now, I'm not disputing that idea that Kemp is crazy. But his position on gold is the least crazy stance he has taken in his public life.

Last year, Pat Buchanan was hit with the accusation that some of his followers wanted to abolish the Fed, and he fought back admirably. He said, oh come on, guys, plenty of great economists want to get rid of the Fed. The press didn't know what to say, and went on to the next question. By the way, it's too bad Pat wasn't reading what those economists had to say about foreign trade, corporate profits, and labor unions, or the very legitimacy of the market.

As for the two major candidates, they would rather please macro-money managers than the average taxpayer any day. They know who calls the shots in politics, and it sure isn't the regular guy.

In many ways, Alan Greenspan is surprisingly immune from criticism. Here's a guy who arranged a $40 billion bailout of Mexico, at the behest of his friends in the investment banking industry, and on behalf of his clients in the largest New York banks. He lobbied Congress directly not to intervene. He called Rush Limbaugh to make sure he wouldn't complain about it.

Yet ask your average hack in either party what he thinks about Greenspan. He won't say, the guy's a grafter who should be fired, if not worse. He'll say: "he's doing a pretty good job." But what does a "pretty good job" mean? It means that so long as inflation is running at less than 5% and unemployment is less than 6%, the Fed is given a completely free hand. A blank check, so to speak.

Meanwhile Clinton says the age of big government is over. Why? Because he announced it. At the same time, he is calling for government to employ thousands of reading tutors, scatter them all over the country, and bring about a national goal of making every third grader literate by the year 2000. Actually, he could start with his own bureaucracies. Wouldn't it be ambitious enough to teach every GS-13 to read and write on a third grade level by the year 2000?

The real problem is that the phrase: "tax cut" does not go with the name "Bob Dole."

Then there's Bob Dole. He started off his campaign with a bang, calling for a 15% tax cut. A few days passed, and it turned out to be over three year. Two weeks later it had been stretched out to six years. Just the other day, a Kemp adviser told the *Wall Street Journal* that it is really over seven years.

This is a common tactic in fiscal policy. They promise to bind the hands of other politicians eight years down the road. But they refuse to be held to anything they said in a news conference yesterday. Given this, I've got the ideal tax plan that Dole and Clinton can agree on. They can promise to cut taxes 100 percent over 100 years.

Many of my Republican friends are sad that Dole is intractably behind in the polls. They are even sadder that Clinton is looking forward to a second term. They think it says something terrible about the American voter. In fact, it may not.

From the beginning, the problem with Dole's tax plan was not that his numbers didn't add up. Politicians' numbers never add up. The real problem is that the phrase: "tax cut" does not go with the name "Bob Dole." It's like socialism and Ludwig von Mises, the welfare state and Murray Rothbard, or free enterprise and Pol Pot.

It's not that people wouldn't want a 15% cut in their taxes. It's that they don't appreciate being lied to and manipulated year after year. Every winner of the presidency since Hoover has promised to lower taxes. Yet they go up every year. It would be hard enough for a real tax cutter to get voters to believe him. But Dole just doesn't have credibility as a tax cutter.

And what is the second-most-important-part of his campaign? A massive new welfare program to distribute federal aid for private education. And listen to the grounds on which he defends the idea of educational vouchers: some people can afford top-notch education, while some cannot. And he says that's not fair.

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Folks, if this argument were made in 1896, the person would be denounced as a Communist and run out of town. One hundred years later, he is made the Republican nominee for president.

Recently Dole's been getting the advice that he needs to go negative. He tried it the other day. He complained that Clinton waited *four whole years* before he raised the minimum wage. But even this tactic didn't help Dole in the polls.

I'm finding it increasingly difficult to take the U.S. government's denunciations of foreign governments seriously.

But recently, I began to feel more hopeful about Dole's prospects. He really ripped into the idea that a head of government could oppress his people, deny them their essential rights, spurn all traditional standards of decency, use children as political tools, and spew out lie after lie to the very people he governs. Only trouble is, he was talking about Saddam Hussein.

I'm finding it increasingly difficult to take the U.S. government's denunciations of foreign governments seriously. It's even getting difficult to take the government seriously on issues like crime.

For instance, what are we to think when Bill Clinton threatens life in prison for anyone who harasses a religious group and burns down their house of worship? He doesn't have to look any further than his own Department of Justice to find the leading perpetrator of that kind of hate at Waco.

One way to look at this season is as the backlash of the governing elites. They've let us have our fun for a few years, and even allowed some radicals to get into Congress, but now they've called a truce. With Clinton and Dole, they are reminding us that the game is rigged. We have a choice between this guy or that guy, but no choice about the nature of the system itself.

What the establishment can't change is the fundamental factors that are driving the trends that so terrify the Anthony Lewis's of the world. Despite the supposed reform, the welfare state is still stealing from the productive to give to the unproductive. Quotas of all sorts are perpetuating injustice on an increasing scale. Taxes can't go any higher, yet government liabilities are in the $15 trillion range.

When the right political leader comes along to explain, as Harry Browne and Howard Phillips have, that we'd all be better off giving up our favorite program in exchange for paying no income taxes, we'll start to see a change.

But we don't have to wait for conventional political solutions. There are fundamental reasons why a system like the present one cannot last, whether or not anyone in the political arena wills a change.

Look at the rise of dissident social movements right now. At no time in a century and a half have we seen so many disparate groups in so many places daring to say to the federal government: you will go no further.

Managing a mixed economy such as ours can be a tricky business. Economic crisis, political crisis, and mass disobedience always threaten. I believe one of these may be at the door. And there's another thing we have going for us: our history. Anthony Lewis mentions the anti-government strain in American history.

In fact, it's more than that. To be an American means to burn with a passion for freedom from government tyranny. Mr. Lewis fears that this passion is still with us. I believe it is too. This present political moment, which seems so stupid, boring, and uneventful, is the calm before a storm so big that not even Fema will be able to clean it up.

U.S. Out of Iraq

by Justin Raimondo

One of the greatest ironies of American history may well turn out to be that Bill Clinton, a draft-dodging peacenik during the Vietnam era, led the great revival of American interventionism in the post-cold war world. Haiti, Bosnia, and now Iraq—three times, our Commander in Chief has exercised his imperial prerogative and called his legions into battle.

Now that the Cold War is over, and the threat of international Communism is nonexistent, the new militarists are liberal do-gooders whose vast social engineering schemes have gone global. After all, if Big Government is the answer to all our problems at home, then it can also bring salvation to all the world's peoples. More importantly, despite all this talk about the "end of the era of big government" echoed by both parties, the fact is that our globalist foreign policy means that the era of Big Government will never come to an end. As long as the President can go to war without the consent or even the knowledge of Congress, the idea of limited, constitutional government is a fiction.

Of course, it isn't just liberal Democrats who are cheerleading Clinton's Iraqi misadventure. Both wings of the Establishment, the respectable Right and the tame Left, have climbed on board the campaign to dismember Iraq. Bob Dole's only

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criticism of the President is that he has not been interventionist *enough*. Between the candidates of the two major parties, the only disagreement is over ends, not means; once again, Americans will be led into a major military incursion on the other side of the earth without a voice, a vote, or a choice.

The pretext of the American aggression against Iraq was Iraq's alleged incursion into the northern part of its own country where two Kurdish factions have been fighting for many years. In fact, the Iraqi government was invited to restore order, and to repel the invasion of the country by Iranian troops, by the Kurdish Democratic Party (KDP). The Iranian-backed Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK), in alliance with the government of Turkey (which has been the worst oppressor of the Kurds, by far), had practically overrun all of Iraqi Kurdistan before the KDP, in desperation, turned to Saddam.

But the bipartisan defenders of U.S. policy in the region insist that "this is not about Kurdistan," as foreign policy maven Brent Scowcroft said to Larry King; it is about Saddam Hussein, who must not be allowed to exercise sovereignty in his own country. Senators Sam Nunn, John Warner, and John Kerrey all nodded in agreement. All praised the extension of the so-called "no-fly zone" in the south (a thousand miles from Kurdistan) as a masterstroke. Think of what this means: the nation of Iraq has now been divided into three parts: the Kurdish north, now embroiled in a vicious civil war; the Shiite south, under the influence of the fundamentalist regime in Iran, and the center of the country, still controlled by Saddam Hussein and his Iraqi Baathist party.

The main beneficiaries of this policy are the Iranians, whose influence in the region is greatly enhanced, and Big Oil, specifically the Rockefeller-controlled Aramco Corporation, which has the franchise on the Saudi oil output, marketed by a consortium of U.S. oil companies controlled by the Rockefeller clan.

But what has any of this to do with defending genuine American interests in the region? The answer is nothing. The fact is that the ongoing war against Iraq hurts the United States by draining the U.S. Treasury to the tune of a billion dollars a month to defend the Saudis, and the various sheiks and petty princelings of the Gulf States—mostly from their own subjects.

It is the United States that is actively seeking to choke off the supply of oil.

We are told that we must go to war in the Middle East to defend our access to oil: but in fact Saddam is more than willing to sell his oil on the world market. It is the United States that is actively seeking to choke off the supply of oil, by forbidding Iraq to bring its oil to market as punishment for the "crime" of asserting its own national sovereignty. The absence of Iraqi oil from the world market drives the price of oil up, hurts the U.S. economy, and represents a dire threat to the financial security of ordinary Americans.

Aside from the Iranian government, the biggest beneficiaries of the U.S. strike are Iranian-backed Islamic fundamentalists in the region, from Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic, whose cause is backed by 30,000 troops and billions in U.S. aid, to the newly installed Islamic government of Turkey, a NATO member and key U.S. ally in the region.

The strategy of the United States appears inexplicable: we are building up Iran's influence, balkanizing Iraq, and creating a power vacuum that only the mullahs can fill. This policy looks suicidal, and it is: but it *does* make a twisted kind of sense if looked at from the point of view of the government of Israel. Iran's main competitor for the allegiance of anti-Zionist Arabs and Muslims is Syria, which is also the main enemy of Israel. As the power and prestige of Iranian-backed militias in the Bekkaa valley in Lebanon waxes, the influence of the Syrian-backed armies wanes. As the bombs fall on Baghdad, the newly-installed nationalist regime of Benjamin Netanyahu is trying to restart the peace talks with Yasir Arafat.

If the influence of the hardline Syrians is reduced, Arafat will be forced to make some big concessions. In addition, the interposition of U.S. forces in Iraq will face the Syrians with the possibility of a war on two fronts: in the West, against the Israelis, and in the East against American troops in U.S.-occupied Iraq.

For that is the prospect of what we are looking at here: a U.S. military occupation of the region, as in Bosnia. The creeping expansionism of the U.S. "no-fly zone" in the south and the de facto protectorate of Kurdistan established by the U.S.

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in the north will eventually have to mean the presence of U.S. forces on the ground in Iraq.

Vice President Al Gore, after prompting by Larry King during an interview on CNN, yesterday stated that he was sorry that President Bush didn't go all the way to Baghdad in 1992. Well, make no mistake about it: that is what they intend this time: a final solution to the Iraqi "problem," that will open the road to a whole series of major wars in the Middle East. All the while Russia will be looking on all this with a jaundiced eye—especially the prospect of a strengthened Iran and a large U.S. force just south of its border. Added to the anti-Slav religious war in the Balkans, what we are looking at is nothing less than the prospect of World War III.

American patriots have no choice but to oppose this mad policy of perpetual war for perpetual peace. We must reject the counsel of such fake conservatives as Bob Dole, who are pushing for war in the Middle East. The vital national interests of the United States are *not* being served in Desert Storm II, just as they were not served in Desert Storm I. The policy of global interventionism that marked the Cold War era is now obsolete: it is time to put America first, to attend to overwhelming problems here at home.

Timeless Advice

From a February 19, 1823, letter from the Rev. Sydney Smith to Lady Grey, wife of the British Prime Minister.

"For God's sake, do not drag me into another war! I am worn down, and worn out, with crusading and defending Europe, and protecting mankind; I *must* think a little of myself. I am sorry for the Spaniards—I am sorry for the Greeks—I deplore the fate of the Jews; the people of the Sandwich Islands are groaning under the most detestable tyranny; Baghdad is oppressed; I do not like the present state of the Delta; Thibet is not comfortable. Am I to fight for all these people? The world is bursting with sin and sorrow. Am I to be champion of the Decalogue, and to be eternally raising fleets and armies to make all men good and happy? We have just done saving Europe, and I am afraid the consequences will be, that we shall cut each other's throat. No war, dear Lady Grey!—No eloquence; but apathy, selfishness, common sense, arithmetic! I beseech you, secure Lord Grey's swords and pistols, as the housekeeper did Don Quixote's armor. If there is another war, life will not be worth having.

"'May the vengeance of Heaven' overtake all the legitimates of Verona! but, in the present state of rent and taxes, they must be *left* to the vengeance of Heaven. I allow fighting in such a cause to be a luxury; but the business of a prudent, sensible man, is to guard against luxury.

"There is no such thing as a 'just war,' or, at least, a *wise* war."

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